

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BUDAPE 03219 211136Z

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PM-03 SP-02 L-01

INR-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 RSC-01 /040 W

----- 056916

R 201320Z NOV 74

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2288

INFO AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, HU

SUBJECT: PARTY PAPER CRITICISM OF CONSERVATIVES

(SEE ALSO BUDAPEST 3220)

1. IN A HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT EDITORIAL IN HWSP DAILY, NEPSZABADSAG EDITOR AND KADAR-INTIMATE ISTVAN KATONA RECENTLY SHARPLY CRITICIZED WHAT MAY BE CHARACTERIZED AS CONSERVATIVE (PRESUMABLY ALSO PRO-SOVIET) PARTY ELEMENTS. TIMING PROBABLY RELATED TO SUBSEQUENTLY CALLED CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING AND TO FACT GUIDELINES FOR NEXT PARTY CONGRESS WILL BE PUBLISHED IN JANUARY. KATONA POINTEDLY SAID IT WAS NOT NECESSARY TO "DEMAND HEADS," "BANG TABLE," SPEAK "OF A 'TOUGHER' STYLE OF LEADERSHIP," OR OF TWELFTH HOUR MEASURES, OR TO USE "VEILED ALLUSIONS." (REFERENCES TO DEMANDING HEADS, TO TOUGHER STYLE OF LEADERSHIP AND TO TWELFTH HOUR MEASURES MAKE CLEAR--AS GENERAL CONTEXT ALSO DID--THAT IT WAS CONSERVATIVES ARTICLE IS AIMED AT.) KATONA ALSO WROTE IN SUPPORT OF THOSE WHO WERE SPEAKING IN FAVOR OF THE PEASANTS. AS PRO-PEASANT LEADERS MUST, IN THIS CONTEXT, BE INCLUDED TOGETHER WITH

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PAGE 02 BUDAPE 03219 211136Z

ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL "LIBERALS," THIS FURTHER EVIDENCE

THAT BASIC TARGET OF ARTICLE WAS CONSERVATIVES.

2. MAIN POLICY CONCLUSIONS IN ARTICLE WERE THAT NOT ONLY POLITICAL LINE BUT ALSO "STYLE" OF PARTY POLICY REMAINS UNCHANGED. THIS WAS ILLUSTRATED BY CRITICISM OF HUNGARIAN WITS WHO HE SAID ARE SAYING: "OH YES, THE PARTY TRULY PROCEEDS ON THE SAME ROAD, BUT NOW ON ITS LEFT SIDE." KATONA INSISTED PARTY HAS PROCEEDED ON NEITHER LEFT NOR RIGHT SIDE FOR 18 YEARS (I.E. UNDER KADAR).

3. ARTICLE WAS THUS ADDITIONAL REASSURANCE TO RANK AND FILE THAT NO SIGNIFICANT POLICY CHANGES HAVE TAKEN OR WILL TAKE PLACE AND THAT RELATIVELY MODERATE APPROACH WILL PREVAIL. MORE IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, INCONVINCING PUBLIC OF THIS, IT WAS FIRST PUBLIC STATEMENT SINCE LAST CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION AGAINST CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS IN PARTY.

ALSO SIGNIFICANT WAS THAT ARTICLE WAS WRITTEN IN FORM WHICH INDICATED CONSERVATIVES HAVE BEEN CRITICIZING KADAR IF NOT EXPLICITLY AT LEAST UNAMBIGUOUSLY FOR BEING TOO MODERATE IN HIS POLICIES. STRONG LANGUAGE USED BY KATONA IN DESCRIBING HOW ISSUES HAVE BEEN DEBATED IS FURTHER EVIDENCE THAT SHARP DIFFERENCES HAVE CONTINUED WITHIN PARTY THAT ARE NOT OTHERWISE PUBLICLY APPARENT. IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT REMARKS ARE NOW DIRECTED AGAINST THE CONSERVATIVES, WHEREAS PARTY AND KADAR CRITICISM LAST SPRING WAS AGAINST "LIBERALS." ARTICLE DOES CONTAIN SOME CRITICISM ON THE OPPOSITE SIDE, NOTABLY AGAINST PEOPLE WHO ACCUSE "SOMEONE" (KADAR) OF INTENDING TO SMASH UP COLLECTIVES BECAUSE HE RAISED FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST FARMING. HOWEVER, OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT OTHER THAN THIS REMARK THE CRITICISM OF "LIBERALS" IN THE ARTICLE IS PRIMARILY FOR PURPOSE OF AN APPARENT, NOT REAL, BALANCE.

4. WE SEE ARTICLE AS EVIDENCE THAT KADAR DOES NOT INTEND TO LET CLOCK BE TURNED BACK AND AS AN INDICATION THAT HE HAS STRENGTH TO PREVENT IT.

5. SEPTTEL CONTAINS MORE DETAILED ANALYSIS.
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PAGE 03 BUDAPE 03219 211136Z

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS COMMENTS, POLICIES, POLITICAL PARTIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 NOV 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: kelleyw0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974BUDAPE03219
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740337-0135
From: BUDAPEST
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741129/aaaaaxvo.tel
Line Count: 108
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 2
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: kelleyw0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <14 MAY 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <24-Sep-2002 by kelleyw0>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PARTY PAPER CRITICISM OF CONSERVATIVES (SEE ALSO BUDAPEST 3220)
TAGS: PINT, HU
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005